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# THE QUARTERLY

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### THE NAVY OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS.

ALEX. DIENST.

#### III.

#### THE SECOND NAVY OF TEXAS.

##### IX. MEASURES TO PROCURE A SECOND NAVY.

The vessels of the first navy were lost through captures, wrecks, and other misfortunes. But Texas, possessing as she did such an extensive sea-board, could not expect to be regarded as a nation unless she had a navy strong enough to protect her coast and harbors. Emigrants would hesitate to risk their all in a voyage to a country not prepared to protect them if attacked *en route*. Trading vessels would be slow to bring those commodities to her shores which would be necessary for the comfort of the people. Exportation would likewise be dangerous. Shipowners would dread capture and loss of their vessels, with possible imprisonment in a Mexican dungeon. Excessive insurance would raise the price of all commodities to the point where the bare necessities of life would become luxuries. But, with proper protection, immigration would soon fill up the land; and the increased imports and exports, as the country became settled, would bring a revenue in the way of customs duties that would eventually pay for the maintenance of a navy. These considerations alone would justify

the expenditure of a considerable sum by Texas; and when, in addition, it is remembered that Mexico had in no wise relinquished her intention of reconquering Texas, and would sooner or later attack her by land and by sea, the reader can understand why it was necessary for Texas to secure and maintain at any cost a navy strong enough to make Mexico fear and respect her, and to impress foreign nations with the stability of her government.

All this had been clearly perceived since the first session of the first congress of the Republic. On October 26, 1836, the Committee on Naval Affairs recommended "the immediate building or purchase" of one twenty-four gun sloop, a ten gun steam vessel, and two schooners of eleven guns each. The total cost of the four vessels was to be \$135,000.<sup>1</sup> An act was passed in conformity with these resolutions, authorizing the President to appoint an agent to proceed immediately to the United States, to purchase, or contract for and superintend the building of, the desired vessels. It was approved by President Houston November 18, 1836. This increase in the navy was planned while Texas was still in possession of several war vessels; but long before any of the vessels of the new navy reached the Texan shores, the last of the old navy, excepting the *Potomac*, had disappeared. Owing to the youth of the Republic, and the uncertainty of her future, sufficient money could not be borrowed to carry out the act; and it therefore remained ineffective.

The second congress found it imperative to act. The *Independence* had been captured by the Mexicans, and the *Invincible* wrecked, leaving the *Brutus* and the *Potomac* sole defenders of six hundred miles of coast. William M. Shepherd, acting secretary of the navy, in his report of September 30, 1837,<sup>2</sup> begs earnestly for the expenditure of a few thousand dollars to prevent Mexico's gaining supremacy of the Gulf. Some two weeks later the *Brutus* was wrecked, and the Committee on Naval Affairs thereupon framed the following resolutions, and submitted them to the Senate for action:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*House Journal*, 1st Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., 97-98; Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1090; Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 54.

<sup>2</sup>*House Journal*, 2nd Tex. Cong., 1st and 2d Sessions, 166-172.

<sup>3</sup>Archives of the Department of State, file No. 764.

Resolved that the Senate and the house of representatives of the Republic of Texas in congress assembled proceed to Elect by joint ballot an agent whose duty it shall be to repair immediately to Baltimore or some other seaport town of the United States of the north for the purpose of buying or building arming and equipping for the public service of the Republic of Texas one corvette of 18.24 medium, 2-10 Gun Briggs mounting medium 18 pounders—and two substantial schooners . . . provided the cost of said vessels shall not exceed \$250,000 which said amount is hereby appropriated out of any unappropriated money now in, or that hereafter may be in the treasury. . . .

The resolution was amended to authorize the purchase of a five hundred ton ship mounting eighteen guns, two three hundred ton brigs of twelve guns each, and three schooners of one hundred and thirty tons, mounting five or seven guns each; to appropriate two hundred and eighty thousand dollars for the purpose; to instruct the secretary of the treasury to furnish said agent with a draft for the above appropriated sum on Messrs. Gilmer and Burnley, the “commissioners to negotiate a five million loan”;<sup>1</sup> and to pledge solemnly the public faith for the payment of this amount. It became a law with the President’s approval on November 4, 1837.<sup>2</sup>

To carry out the provisions of this act, President Houston appointed Peter W. Grayson agent. Grayson had represented Texas as commissioner to the United States in 1836, when the country was seeking recognition, and his appointment for the present task was considered a wise one. At about this time, however, he became candidate for the presidency of Texas, and during the campaign committed suicide in a fit of despondency at Bean’s Station, Tennessee. John A. Wharton was anxious to succeed him, but President Houston appointed Samuel M. Williams.<sup>3</sup> Williams at

<sup>1</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, IX, 1355-1356.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 1355-1356; Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 70.

<sup>3</sup>Report of Secretary of Navy in *House Journal*, 3d Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., 15-20. The following amusing reason is given for the president’s refusal to appoint John A. Wharton. He had previously appointed William H. Wharton minister to the United States to secure the recognition of Texan independence. It is related that Wharton was not pleased with the appointment, and remarked that the president was sending him into honorable exile to get him out of some one else’s way. Houston did not hear of this until some months later, when John A. Wharton applied for the agency.



once executed his bond, and departed for Baltimore, to enter actively into the labors of procuring a navy for Texas.

In order to meet immediate needs, an effort was made to buy the steam ship Pulaski; and Congress authorized her purchase at an agreed price;<sup>1</sup> but the transaction failed through the refusal of the owners to deliver her at Galveston, on the ground that our ports were declared by the enemy to be under blockade, and that the blockade was reported to be effective. Before any agreement could be arrived at she was destroyed. The *Potomac*, therefore, was the only vessel that was in the service of Texas during 1838. And for a long time it remained doubtful whether or not the government would become the owner of this vessel. The secretary of the navy at a critical hour had bought it on his own responsibility from Captain L. M. Hitchcock for eight thousand dollars and had almost completed its conversion into a brig of war, when all further work on it was suspended because congress had made no provision for its purchase. This, however, was due to a want of funds, and not to a belief in congress that the vessel was not needed. The secretary of the navy in his report of October 30, 1838, put the matter before the president, and urged him to find some means for completing the transaction.<sup>2</sup> The *Potomac* seems to have been finally acquired by the government, though no record of the transfer can be found. The secretary of the navy two years later says:<sup>3</sup>

In consequence of the leaky condition of the brig Potomac, formerly the receiving ship, she has had everything removed from her; placed securely in the yard, and her crew transferred to the Wharton. It has since been discovered, and prevented as far as it was deemed necessary, to keep her from sinking. This vessel is new and has been for a long while, perfectly useless to the Gov-

Meeting William H. Wharton after his return from the United States, the president could not refrain from delivering a home thrust. "I did not appoint John A. Wharton naval commissioner," he said, "because I did not wish to drive any more of the Wharton family into exile."—Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas*, 273.

<sup>1</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, 1392.

<sup>2</sup>*House Journal*, 3d Tex. Cong., 18; Yoakum, II, 242.

<sup>3</sup>Report of November 4, 1840, in *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 185-196.

ernment for any purpose whatever, and, as an application has been made by the Commander of the station to transfer her to the pilot of Galveston, with a view of making a light boat of her, upon such terms as he believes would be beneficial to the public interest, I advise this measure, believing it will not interfere with the best interests of the navy, and that it will be of great advantage to our growing commerce.

Not another word we can find concerning her, except in the Tennison Papers, in the original order of A. C. Hinton commanding the naval station at Galveston, and addressed to William A. Tennison, midshipman, on board the *Potomac* at Galveston, ordering him to report to Lieutenant William S. Williamson on board the brig of war *Brazos*, for duty.<sup>1</sup> This is the only time the brig of war *Brazos* is mentioned officially or otherwise. Where she came from, or what became of her, no existing documents relate. Under another name, she may have played some part in Texas history. That there was such a vessel in the navy in 1842, there is no question, as the document mentioning it is original and genuine.

For the sake of economy, the president ordered the secretary of the navy to disband the officers and men of the navy until vessels could be procured for them. Only enough were retained to man the *Potomac* and the naval station at Galveston.<sup>2</sup> This act, while a hardship on the officers and men, was proper under the circumstances, and proved quite a saving to the government; as it was some time before the men were needed.

Fate was very kind to Texas at this time, when she had no navy and was seemingly at the mercy of her enemy. The French government, having certain claims against Mexico, which Mexico declined to satisfy, assembled a considerable naval force at Vera Cruz and declared the Mexican ports blockaded. Shortly after the inauguration of the new president of Texas, M. B. Lamar, on December 9, 1838, Texas was gratified with the intelligence of the capture of Vera Cruz. The blockade of the French having failed to bring the government to terms, Admiral Baudin despatched a messenger to General Rincón, the Mexican commandant, informing him that he was about to attack the castle of San Juan

<sup>1</sup>Hinton to Tennison, an undated autograph letter signed.

<sup>2</sup>Report of Secretary of Navy, October 30, 1838, in *House Journal*, 3d Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., 15-16.

d'Ulloa. This fortress, situated on an island in the harbor of Vera Cruz, was defended by one hundred and sixty pieces of artillery and some five thousand men. The bombardment commenced about two o'clock, in the afternoon of the 27th of November, and was so well directed that in four hours, after a loss of six hundred men in killed and wounded, the Mexicans capitulated and marched out of the castle, and the French took possession. The Mexican government thereupon despatched Santa Anna with five thousand men to drive the French out of the place. In attempting this, he lost his leg, and many of his troops were killed and wounded. On March 9, 1839, a treaty was made between Mexico and France, which was shortly afterwards ratified, and the French forces left the territory of the Republic.<sup>1</sup>

On his way home Admiral Baudin, with a part of <sup>the</sup> fleet, visited Texas. He was given a grand welcome to Galveston and to Texas. The mayor and aldermen of Galveston delivered the keys of the city to him, and Admiral Baudin, in a written response, declared that he was glad to have contributed by his work in Mexico to such a cause as the independence of the Texian nation. He said

. . . . I hope it will prove, too, beneficial to the several nations, who, either as friends or as foes, have to deal with Mexico. Nothing could be more gratifying to my feelings than to be considered as one of you, gentlemen, whose industry and energy I do so much admire. Be assured that I would vastly prefer being the humblest member of a well regulated and thriving community, like yours, than to moving in the sphere of wealth and power in a corrupt and decaying society. With the highest regard and respect, I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate and devoted Serv't, CHARLES BAUDIN.<sup>2</sup>

To understand fully the gratitude of the people we must remember that, but for the opportune interference of the French, the whole coast of Texas would have been at the mercy of any fleet, however small, that Mexico might have sent against it. Can it be wondered at that Galveston and all Texas felt that France had helped to fight the battles of the Republic?

<sup>1</sup>Yoakum, II, 242, 253, 255.

<sup>2</sup>Baudin to Mayor and Aldermen of Galveston, May 13, 1839, in an unidentified newspaper clipping.

While Texas was thus enjoying a respite through the involuntary assistance of France, Mr. Williams, in Baltimore, was doing all in his power to obtain proper vessels for the navy. Owing to the fact that the loan was not effected with which to purchase the fleet, he was much discouraged. On October 9, 1838, he wrote from Philadelphia,<sup>1</sup> that the only prospect at that time was to buy the steam packet *Charleston*, which had been built eighteen months before at a cost of \$117,000. She could be had for \$120,000, payable in five years with ten per cent interest, and could be so altered as to make her an available naval ship. On November 3, 1848, General Hamilton, who was the regularly appointed consul for the Republic of Texas, in Charleston, addressed a lengthy communication to the secretary of the navy,<sup>2</sup> in regard to the purchase of this vessel. He said that while in England he had had the good fortune to induce his friend James Holford, Esq., of London, to advance the money necessary for her purchase and outfit; but Hamilton said:

As Mr. Holford is not a citizen, the title had to be taken for the boat in my name, and so it will continue until she gets out to Texas, and a regular transfer is made of her to your Government. . . . As Mr. Holford has acted with the utmost liberality and confidence, I trust your Government will have passed, in *secret session* forthwith, a resolution confirming Messrs. Burnley and Williams' contract with me, as the agent of this gentleman.<sup>3</sup>

Agreeable to this request, an act was passed sanctioning the contract for the *Charleston*, afterwards known as the *Zavala*, for the price of \$120,000.<sup>4</sup> This vessel was, therefore, the first one of the new navy. Its final cost, as later altered and equipped, was much beyond the original contract price. But in this, as in other matters, the financial records of the navy are so tangled and obscure as to render details impossible. It would be alike tedious and unprofitable to attempt to unravel them. Indeed, the secre-

<sup>1</sup>*House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 212.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 214-216.

<sup>3</sup>Hamilton to Secretary of Navy, November 3, 1838, in *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 214-216.

<sup>4</sup>Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 93.

tary of the navy, in 1840, confessed the task too heavy for himself.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the *Zavala* had been arranged for, Mr. Williams was successful in concluding a contract, on November 13, 1838, with Frederick Dawson, of Baltimore, for one ship, two brigs, and three schooners to be fully armed, furnished with provisions and munitions, and delivered in the port of Galveston.<sup>2</sup> For this it was agreed that,

the bonds of the Government of Texas, made and executed by the Commissioners for the Loan, shall be executed and signed and deposited in the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania, or the Girard Bank at Philadelphia, . . . for five hundred and sixty thousand dollars, there to remain . . . as security . . . for the space of twelve calendar months, which bonds are to bear . . . a rate of interest of ten per cent per annum, . . . which bonds can be redeemed at the end of twelve months, by the payment of the two hundred and eighty thousand dollars, and the ten per cent which shall have accrued . . . in Gold or Silver. . . . If the Government of Texas shall prefer to instruct the Loan Commissioners to issue, or shall itself issue sterling bonds for the sum of five hundred and twenty thousand dollars at any time prior to the first day of February next, he will receive them in full liquidation, and payment of the debt hereby contracted, and in lieu of the bonds heretofore mentioned.

On receiving the intelligence that the navy had been contracted for, the Texas government, on January 26, passed an act which declared that, whereas the agent of the Republic had made a contract for the purchase of one ship of eighteen guns, two brigs of twelve guns each, and three schooners of six guns each, and,

whereas it has become indispensably necessary, in order to prepare and keep in service the said vessels, as well for the protection of

<sup>1</sup>Secretary of the Navy, Report of November 4, 1840, in *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 187; see also Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 93, 94, 198-199, 206, 305.

<sup>2</sup>For the contract with Dawson see *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 202-204. See also Yoakum, II, 243; Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 94; and Report of Special Committee to the Senate, January 22, 1854. Dawson turned his interest over to S. Chott and Whitney; these two gentlemen, in a lengthy letter addressed to the government of Texas, October 9, 1851, complained bitterly of the effort made to scale the bonds, and their arguments seem unanswerable. See Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 198-199.

the coasts and harbors of Texas, as for the protection of the commerce thereof, that an appropriation be made of the sum required for that object. Wherefore, be it enacted, . . . That the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in the promissory notes of the Government be, and the sum is hereby appropriated for the naval service for the year 1839. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The navy thus contracted for, including the *Zavala*, and the appropriation just mentioned, cost the Texan government more than \$800,000.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Williams, having now accomplished the task he had been entrusted with, returned to Texas. That his services were appreciated by his countrymen, we note in a resolution offered in congress<sup>3</sup> tendering him a resolution of thanks "for the energy which he has rendered in procuring a navy." It will be recalled that while he was connected with the firm of McKinney and Williams he had been largely instrumental in securing the first navy of Texas. His talent lay in his ability to finance such matters, and later in life we see him the first banker of Texas. He knew nothing of naval construction, and the republic now needed a man at Baltimore to see that the contract was carried out according to specifications. A man in every respect qualified for this important service was found in John G. Tod, who had resigned a commission in the United States navy to connect himself with the young republic.<sup>4</sup> Before entering upon this work, he had, at the request of

<sup>1</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, II, 129-130. Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 93, and Bancroft, II, 317, say that this appropriation of \$250,000 was made to pay for the ships contracted for; they are of course, mistaken, as the language of the act is clear.

<sup>2</sup>Secretary of the navy, Report of November 8, 1839, cited in Yoakum, II, 272; Bancroft, II, 351.

<sup>3</sup>*Senate Journal*, 3d Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., 72. The resolution was dated December 14, 1838.

<sup>4</sup>John G. Tod was born in Kentucky. Leaving Lexington when seventeen years of age, he proceeded down the Mississippi on a flatboat to New Orleans, and enlisted in the Mexican Navy as a midshipman, under Admiral Mina. Two years later, through the influence of Henry Clay, he was appointed a midshipman in the United States navy, and transferred to that service in which he rose to more important grades.—C. W. Raines, *Year Book of Texas*, 1901, p. 402.

Mr. Tod entered the Texas navy in 1837, and, as the following letter (copied from a facsimile of the original) indicates, apparently had some difficulty in convincing the secretary of the navy of his merits:

the secretary of the navy, drawn up a report upon the establishment of a navy yard, and in April, 1838, had been vested with powers to examine into and report on all matters connected with the naval interests. On June 10, 1838, he was ordered to the United States by President Houston upon that mission. He fitted out the steamer *Charleston* and returned with her to Galveston, in March, 1839, where her name and flag were changed, and she was commissioned as the *Zavala*.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the Dawson contract, on June 27, 1839, the schooner *San Jacinto* was delivered; on August 7, the schooner *San Antonio*; on August 31, the schooner *San Bernard*; and, on October 18, the brig *Colorado*.<sup>2</sup> A corvette and a brig were yet wanting to complete the contract, but they were confidently expected by the end of the year.<sup>3</sup> They

Houston, May 25, 1837.

Hon. W. G. Hill.

Sir,—I take the liberty of laying the enclosed letters before you as a further introduction to your friendly influence in my behalf.

They will show you how I stand in civil life with men of eminence in the United States—who are not likely to confer their friendship or esteem upon any man except for his individual worth as a gentleman; more especially, when the difference of *rank* between us as public men is taken into consideration.

The Hon. James Harlan is from Kentucky and has known me from my earliest years. Commodores Barron and Bolton are at the head of the Navy. Maj. Graham is a distinguished officer of the U. S. Army. The first clause of his letter will inform you how I stand with my acquaintances in the U. S. Navy.

I regret that the present state of affairs should make it necessary for me (to succeed in my object) to trouble you and other gentlemen upon a subject that the Hon. Secretary of the Navy alone appears to view in rather an indifferent light. If I obtain my commission, it will be my pride to do my duty in every situation that my country places me. My greatest honor to prove myself worthy of the interest shown by my friends. My glory in defending the rights and advancing the liberties of our common country.

Very respectfully,

I have the honor to be, Sir, your ob. Servt,

Jno. G. Tod

<sup>1</sup>As an instance of the carelessness of the historians of Texas it may be mentioned that Yoakum (II, 271), Morphis (419), and Brown (II, 128), each represents the *Charleston* and the *Zavala* as two separate vessels. That such an error should have been made by Yoakum, who used the documents, is strange; Morphis and Brown, no doubt, followed Yoakum's statement without consulting the sources.

<sup>2</sup>In 1840 the name of the *Colorado* was changed to the *Archer*.

<sup>3</sup>Secretary of the navy, Report of November 8, 1839; Yoakum, II, 271.

were in fact delivered, one in January, and the other in April, 1840. The following account appeared in a current newspaper:<sup>1</sup>

*Texian Navy.*—The following list of vessels constitute the present naval force of Texas. As there are a number of officers of that service who were officers of our navy, these details may be interesting to many of the readers of the *Chronicle*.

Steamer Zavalla—An efficient and well appointed vessel.

Sloop Trinity—600 tons, carries 20 24 pounders, medium guns.

Brigs	{ Colorado	{ 400 tons, carries each 16 18 pounder medium guns.
	{ Galveston	
Schooners	{ San Jacinto	{ 170 tons, each carrying 7 12 pound- ers, and 1 long eighteen, on a pivot.
	{ San Bernard	
	{ San Antone	

Brig Potomac—Receiving vessel.

These vessels, with the exception of the steamer and receiving vessel, were built, equipped, and provisioned under the immediate superintendence of John G. Tod, Esq., Texan Naval Agent of the United States, a gentleman well and favorably known in this country, having at an early period in his life held an honorable place in our navy.

The secretary of the navy in his report<sup>2</sup> of 1840 said:

. . . Mr. Dawson has delivered the brig and the sloop-of-war then due; and everything else appertaining to this contract has been complied with in the most generous and liberal manner. The brig and sloop-of-war, like all the other vessels, have been constructed on a much more commodious scale than the contract required, and have been furnished in a more suitable manner than that for which the contractors were obligated. The brig, which was the last vessel received on the contract, was delivered at Galveston with the naval equipments belonging to her, and the other vessels, on the 25th April, 1840,<sup>3</sup>—the ship on the 5th January previous. . . .

This officer<sup>4</sup> is entitled to great credit for the management and system shown in his operations. His attention to the complicated duties entrusted to him in the United States, as well as his conduct in direct connection with this Department, has always been faithful and laborious, and meets my cordial approbation.

<sup>1</sup>An unidentified newspaper clipping, containing matter copied from an issue of the *Army and Navy Chronicle* of date not indicated.

<sup>2</sup>In *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 185-196.

<sup>3</sup>These two vessels were the *Austin* and the *Wharton*. The latter had formerly been the *Dolphin*.

<sup>4</sup>Captain John G. Tod.



Captain Tod wrote a very appreciative letter of thanks to Dawson,<sup>1</sup> which received a suitable reply. Captain Tod said in part:

The last vessel included in the contract entered into by yourself on one part, and the Republic of Texas of the other part, having received from me the certificate approving of the same, I feel it a duty as well as a pleasure to express to you the satisfaction I have in testifying to the very creditable and liberal manner in which the contract has been fulfilled on your part.

I will not indulge in any useless expressions of my opinion of these vessels, they speak for themselves, and many persons of acknowledged judgment in naval architecture, have pronounced them equal to any that have ever sailed from this port, in beauty of model, strength and durability of materials and finished specimens of workmanship. . . .

John G. Tod,  
Naval Agent of Texas to the U. S.

On the return of Captain Tod to Galveston, June 3, 1840, he was invited to partake of a public dinner tendered him by the citizens of Galveston at the Tremont House. The committee on invitation were M. B. Menard, P. J. Menard, James Love, Levi Jones, and Thomas F. McKinney. From this he excused himself on the plea of pressing business, but thanked them for their appreciation of his services, declaring that,

The greatest happiness a public servant has in this life, is the satisfaction of feeling that he has been faithful and conscientious in the discharge of such duties as may have been entrusted to him. If this pleasure can be enhanced, it is by the assurance that his humble efforts in behalf of his country's interest meet the approbation of his fellow citizens.<sup>2</sup>

Captain Tod's last letter as naval agent, among other matters, highly compliments "H. H. Williams, our consul in Baltimore, to whom was entrusted the purchase of our supplies under my direction," and acknowledges at the same time his indebtedness to Commodores Barron and Warrington, of the United States navy, and to Francis Grice, naval constructor of the Norfolk dock-

<sup>1</sup>Tod to Dawson, March 19, 1840, in *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 199.

<sup>2</sup>Tod to Galveston Gentlemen, June 4, 1840, in *Tennison's Journal*.

yards, "for much useful information imparted to me by these gentlemen."<sup>1</sup>

On June 24, 1840, Captain Tod was placed in command of the naval station at Galveston.

X. EARLY TROUBLES OF THE NEW NAVY.

By the end of April, 1840, the make-up of the second navy was completed. It consisted of the *Potomac*, *Zavala*, *Austin*, *Wharton*, *Archer*, *San Bernard*, *San Jacinto*, and *San Antonio*. The *Zavala*, formerly the *Charleston*, was named for Lorenzo de Zavala; the *Austin*, for Stephen F. Austin; the *Wharton*, formerly the *Dolphin*, for the Wharton brothers,—William H. and John A.;—and the *Archer*, formerly the *Colorado*, for Dr. Branch T. Archer. Besides these vessels references are found to the *Trinity*,<sup>2</sup> the *Galveston*,<sup>3</sup> the *Houston*,<sup>4</sup> the *Merchant*,<sup>5</sup> the *Texas*,<sup>6</sup> the *Asp*,<sup>7</sup> and the *Brazos*. The first two were apparently a part of the Dawson contract, and doubtless became incorporated in the fleet under changed names; the *Houston* seems to have been a Yucatán auxiliary, temporarily acting with the Texans; and the *Merchant* was the private property of E. W. Moore. Of the other vessels mentioned nothing further is known.

This brings us to the *personnel* of the new navy, and we will now introduce the officers, renewing old acquaintances and forming new ones. The man that stands out pre-eminently for his individuality, as well as high position in the navy, is Commodore Edwin Ward Moore. Born in June, 1810, at Alexandria, Virginia, where he received his education, he entered the United States navy as a midshipman, at the age of fourteen, and remained in the

<sup>1</sup>*House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 198.

<sup>2</sup>An unidentified newspaper clipping, with matter copied from an issue of the *Army and Navy Chronicle* of date not indicated.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>Jones, *Republic of Texas*, 194.

<sup>5</sup>Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 86.

<sup>6</sup>Journal of Midshipman James L. Mabry in *Galveston News*, January 9, 16, 23, 1893. This Journal, together with the Ledger and Ration Book of the Texas Navy are the property of Mrs. R. W. Shaw, of Galveston, daughter of Captain James G. Hurd, formerly first lieutenant of the *Brutus*, and granddaughter of Captain Norman Hurd, purser in the Texas navy.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

service for nearly fifteen years.<sup>1</sup> In a letter written in 1904, George F. Fuller, one of his midshipmen in the Texas navy, speaks of him as about 5 feet 8 inches in height, of fair complexion, blue eyes, light brown hair, and stocky build. He was genial, pleasant, and universally liked; a thorough seaman and a splendid officer.<sup>2</sup> In 1839 the prospect of an adventurous and active career in the Texas navy caused him to resign his commission as lieutenant on the United States sloop *Boston*,<sup>3</sup> and offer his services to Texas. He was appointed post-captain and was generally addressed by the title of Commodore, both by the public and by the secretary of the navy in his official communications. He had command of the entire Texas navy from the beginning of his service. Strange, however, as it may seem, no commission was issued to him, or the officers under him, until three years after they had entered the Texan service. In a letter to the secretary of war and marine July 5, 1842, he complained of this in the following terms:

I beg leave also to call the attention of the Department to the fact that *not an officer in the Navy has a commission*, a circumstance unprecedented in the annals of history, that a Government should have for three years, their vessels of war on the high seas, visiting foreign ports, and capturing the enemy's vessels, without a commission even in the possession of the commander of the Navy.<sup>4</sup>

This letter seems to have had the effect that Commodore Moore desired, for two weeks later he received his commission, as did also the officers serving under him. These commissions were confirmed by the senate on July 20, 1842. Commodore Moore's commission entitled him, "Post Captain Commanding," and was antedated April 21, 1839, some time before his resignation from the United States navy.

The first difficulty encountered by the new navy was to obtain sufficient sailors and marines to man the ships.<sup>5</sup> For this purpose

<sup>1</sup>Till July 16, 1839. *Cong. Globe*, 33d Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 1084; Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 10.

<sup>2</sup>Fuller to Dienst, October 27, 1904, in Dienst Col. Docs.

<sup>3</sup>Thrall, 592.

<sup>4</sup>Moore to Hockley, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 79.

<sup>5</sup>In regard to the proceedings of the United States government against Moore himself on the charge of illegal recruiting activity in New York Harbor in the winter of 1839-40, see Deposition of Hunter, December 30, 1839; Forsyth to Dunlap, January 15, 1840; Dunlap to Forsyth, January 16, 1840—all in Annual Report American Historical Association for 1907, Volume II.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

the *San Antonio* was, in November, 1839, at New Orleans, on recruiting service.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the secretary of the navy ordered the *Zavala* to New Orleans for refitting. Captain A. C. Hinton of the *Zavala* was instructed not to allow his expenditure to exceed \$9000, including \$3200 for the enlistment of sailors and marines.<sup>2</sup> He went, however, considerably beyond the modest limit set by the department, incurred a severe reprimand therefor from the secretary, and was ordered to return to Galveston. The reproof administered to him was in part as follows:

You appear to have forgotten the very first principle of naval discipline, to wit: that *the first duty of an officer, as well as a seaman, consists in obeying orders*. If you have so far transcended yours, as to purchase *anything* for which you can not show definite orders, be assured that you will be held responsible; and you furthermore are strictly forbidden from incurring, under any pretext whatever, any liabilities against the Government for repairs. . . . You will . . . return as soon as possible to Galveston, and report immediately to this Department.<sup>3</sup>

In reporting the matter to President Lamar the secretary used a different tone. He said that, though Hinton had exceeded his allowance by nearly twelve thousand dollars, yet

on the return of the *Zavala* to Galveston, her natural efficiency was found to be very much increased, and I have no hesitation in saying, that the unauthorized repairs were essentially needed, and they would have been suggested by the proper authority, except for the consciousness of inability to pay for them.<sup>4</sup>

The President considered the breach of discipline as serious enough to warrant the withdrawal of Hinton's commission. Hinton appealed to congress, and a joint resolution was passed,<sup>5</sup> ordering the secretary of the navy to organize a court-martial for the trial of Hinton, and declaring that in future no officer should be deprived of his commission except by sentence of such a court.

<sup>1</sup>Moore to Hinton, *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 223-224.

<sup>2</sup>*House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 221-222.

<sup>3</sup>Cooke to Hinton, December 21, 1839, in *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 238-239.

<sup>4</sup>Secretary of the navy, Report of November 4, 1840, *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 185-196.

<sup>5</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, II, 609.

The verdict of the court-martial was favorable to Hinton, and congress passed another joint resolution acquitting him "of any act of misconduct reflecting upon him as an officer or gentleman whilst a commander in the Navy of this Republic."<sup>1</sup>

The *Zavala*, on her return to Galveston, had brought a considerable number of men to complete the equipment of the other vessels. For a while it seemed as if this act, and all the cost of provisioning and officering the new navy were to be in vain. The lawmakers of Texas, in the mood of retrenching and economizing, were about to sacrifice an outlay of one million dollars, in order to save a few thousands. Without warning, or ascribing any cause for its action, congress passed a law which was approved on February 5, 1840, requiring the president to retire from the service temporarily all the fleet except such schooners as were needed for revenue purposes, and to retain only a sufficient number of officers and men to carry out the provisions of the act. Section 4, however, provided that, "should Mexico make any hostile demonstrations upon the Gulf, the President may order any number of vessels into active service, that he may deem necessary for the public security."<sup>2</sup>

That the President was not in sympathy with this act can be clearly seen in reading his message of November, 1840. He probably acquiesced in it with the intention of availing himself of the discretionary power conferred by Section 4. At any rate, he did not execute the act, and concerning his reasons for not doing so, spoke as follows:<sup>3</sup>

The act of the last session of congress providing for the laying up in ordinary the principal portion of the naval forces of the country, has not been carried into effect. Before the necessary preparations could be made for doing so, circumstances transpired, which in the opinion of the executive, involved potentially the contingency contemplated in the fourth section of that act, and induced him to defer the withdrawal of our gallant flag from the gulf. It was confidently asserted in the papers of the United States, and as confidently believed here, that the Mexican govern-

<sup>1</sup>The resolution was approved January 29, 1842. It does not appear in Gammel's *Laws*, but the enrolled copy of the original may be found in the Records of the State Department (Texas).

<sup>2</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, II, 364.

<sup>3</sup>See *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., 20-22.

ment had made a contract in Europe for the purchase of several vessels of war, and that she had actually procured an armed steam ship from a commercial house in England, with a view of making a descent upon the coast of Texas, and of cutting off our commerce with foreign nations; and during the prevalence of that opinion, the executive would have been violating the evident intention and spirit of the act of congress, instead of carrying it into effect, had he caused the seamen already in the service to be disbanded, and the vessels to be laid up in ordinary. Other events, also, occurred about the same time, and conspired with these considerations to dissuade me from dismantling a navy which had been equipped at a great expense, and which was manned and officered in a style of gallantry and efficiency inferior to none other of similar magnitude. Yucatan and Tabasco, lately forming a part of the confederate states of Mexico, wearied of the oppressions that followed the overthrow of the federal system in that republic, seceded from the central government, and uniting together pronounced their determination to be free. Similarity of circumstances and design naturally creates a sympathy of feeling, and would prompt this government to regard with peculiar interest the efforts of the citizens of the southern provinces to do precisely what we had so recently accomplished. But considerations of a higher character suggested the propriety of making a demonstration of our naval power on the coast of the new republic. It was expected to ascertain from the authorities established there in what relation this government should regard them, and whether their secession from Mexico would terminate their belligerent condition towards Texas. . . . It was considered advisable to communicate to the authorities our friendly dispositions, and to convey them with such a palpable exhibition of our power as would render them efficacious and permanent; and I am gratified to remark that these professions were readily and kindly received, and cordially reciprocated by the new government.

Under these various circumstances, I have considered it my duty to keep the Navy at sea for a short period. But I was constrained by a sense of justice and regard to the sacred faith of the country to abstain from making captures of Mexican property, while our accredited agents were engaged in Mexico in a negotiation for peace with that Government. The naval equipments of a country, and especially of this country, are essentially different to the facility of organization from the military power. Competent officers and soldiers to constitute an army, may at any time be selected from the body of the population, but seamen and efficient naval officers are not to be found among a rural people, they belong to the element on which they serve, and are nurtured only on the ocean waves. To have disbanded the accomplished

and gallant officers who have embarked in our naval service, at the moment when we had reason to believe our enemy was preparing a naval armament for our coast, would, in the opinion of the executive, have not only been indiscreet and impolitic, but would, as he believes, have been contrary to the true intention and meaning of congress, as expressed in the act of the last session. It is true it might have saved us some expenditure, but it is equally true, that it might have involved the country in great disaster, and an irreparable loss of reputation.

The information afforded by this message is sufficient warrant for its lengthy quotation. We see that the navy was not laid up in ordinary,<sup>1</sup> and that the officers and men were not disbanded. On the contrary, soon after the new fleet was ready for service it was permitted to have a trial.

#### XI. CRUISE OF THE TEXAN FLEET, 1840-1841.

In June the Texas fleet sailed for Mexico. For this movement quite a number of different causes have been alleged. According to President Lamar, the object of the expedition was to impress Yucatán with the strength of Texas, and thus establish diplomatic relations with this revolting state. According to Commodore Moore, it was the proclamation of the Mexican president, declaring Texan ports in a state of blockade. And, according to the secretary of the navy, it was because of a threatened invasion of Texas by Mexico, and the termination of the diplomatic mission of the agent of Texas, Mr. Treat. While it is peculiar to see these officials disagreeing as to the chief motive for such an expedition, it is most likely that all the causes they mention contributed to the movement. For some seven months the naval establishment had been getting ready for such an expedition; and, while the act of congress had paralyzed the movement for a short time, it was only momentarily checked. With the consent and encouragement of President Lamar, the outfitting continued. The most formid-

<sup>1</sup>Eugene C. Barker, in *University of Texas Record*, V, 155, says: "Six months after Lamar assumed the reins of government the delivery of these naval vessels began, but the financial straits of the young republic made it necessary to place them temporarily in ordinary. For this needful act of economy he was blamed." That the vessels were not placed in ordinary this message shows; although, of course, the act approved by Lamar implied that it would be done.

able fleet Texas ever possessed left Galveston harbor on June 24, 1840, with Commodore E. W. Moore in command.

The fleet consisted of the *Austin*, carrying twenty guns, the flagship of Commodore Moore; the steamship *Zavala*, carrying eight guns; and the schooners, *San Bernard*, *San Jacinto*, and *San Antonio*, each carrying five guns.<sup>1</sup> The Brig *Wharton* commanded by George Wheelwright, the *Archer* commanded by J. Clark, and the *Potomac* were left at Galveston. This was done, partly for the reason that they were not in condition to sail with the squadron, and partly because they were needed to protect Galveston in case Mexican vessels threatened the city or the coast.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The lists of officers of the various ships follow: the *Austin*, E. P. Kennedy, first lieutenant; D. H. Crisp, second lieutenant; J. H. Baker, third lieutenant; William Seegar, fourth lieutenant; C. Cummings, acting master; J. B. Gardiner, surgeon; Norman Hurd, purser; T. W. Sweet, lieutenant of marines; C. A. Christman, C. Leay, C. B. Snow, George F. Fuller, M. H. Dearborne, L. E. Bennett, J. C. Bronough, E. A. Wezman, W. W. McFarlane, R. H. Clements, midshipmen; John W. Brown, boatswain; John Salter, gunner; William Smith, carpenter; C. Cremer, sailmaker: the *Zavala*, J. T. K. Lothrop, captain; George Henderson, first lieutenant; W. C. Brashear, second lieutenant; Daniel Lloyd, master; T. P. Anderson, surgeon; W. T. Maury, purser; J. W. C. Parker, captain of marines; G. Beatty, chief engineer; R. Bache, captain's clerk; C. Betts, C. C. Cox, J. E. Barrow, H. (S). Garlick, J. A. Hartman, midshipmen; James Crout, boatswain; T. Howard, gunner; Joseph Auld, carpenter: the *San Bernard*, W. S. Williamson, lieutenant commanding; George W. Estes, first lieutenant; W. A. Tennison, second lieutenant (Ben C. Stuart, in *Galveston News*, October 8, 1899, has G. C. Bunner, second lieutenant, and W. A. Tennison, as acting master); Charles B. Snow, R. M. Clarke, surgeons; J. F. Stephens, purser; W. H. Brewster, captain's clerk; C. B. Underhill, John P. Stoneall, J. B. F. Bernard, L. H. Smith, midshipmen; George Brown, boatswain: the *San Jacinto*, W. R. Postell, lieutenant commanding; J. O. Shaughnessey, first lieutenant; A. G. Gray, second lieutenant; William Oliver, acting master; Fletcher Dorey, surgeon; Robert Oliver, purser; J. J. Tucker, captain's clerk; C. S. Arcamble, A. Walker, J. O. Parker, midshipmen: the *San Antonio*, Alex Moore, lieutenant commanding; Thomas Wood, Junior, first lieutenant; A. J. Lewis, second lieutenant; A. A. Waite, acting master; James W. Moore, purser; Hugh A. Goldborough, captain's clerk; James H. Wheeler, E. F. Wells, L. M. Minor, midshipmen; Hugh Schofield, boatswain.

The muster rolls here given are from the Tennison Papers (folio 352, pp. 1-3). They are the only complete rolls I have been able to secure. Yet Tennison's rolls cannot be depended upon as absolutely accurate. For other lists see Ben C. Stuart in *Galveston News*, October 8, 1899.

Alex Moore and James W. Moore, mentioned above, were a cousin and a brother of Commodore E. W. Moore. See Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 70-72, 110.

<sup>2</sup>The ships and officers mentioned in Brown's *History of Texas*, II, 198, footnote (copied in full without credit being given from *Texas Almanac*, 1860, pp. 165-166), have nothing whatever to do with this squadron, though, to the general reader, it would appear from the language used that they



The itinerary and incidents of this cruise can be most briefly and clearly given by citing extracts of the report of Commodore E. W. Moore to the secretary of the navy:<sup>1</sup>

TEXAS SLOOP-OF-WAR AUSTIN,  
At Sea, August 28th, 1840.

Latitude 25° 21' N.: Longitude 96° 29' W.

Sir: . . . 22d July . . . I order[ed] the Zavala to make the best of her way to the Arcos<sup>2</sup> Islands, touching at Sisal, under English colors, and to leave a letter for Gen. Anaya from Gen. Canales.<sup>3</sup> On the 26th July, the weather still very light, in consequence of which, and my unexpected detention off the S. W. Pass, I thought it best to send a vessel off Point Mariandrea with the letters No. 1 and 2 for Richard Packenham, Esq.,<sup>4</sup> her Britannic Majesty's Minister to Mexico; and that I might, in conformity of my orders of 20th June, endeavor to ascertain the feelings of the authorities of the State of Yucatan towards our Government,<sup>5</sup> and be off the Brazos de Santiago as near the time mentioned in the same orders as possible, I sent the schooner San Jacinto with the letters, and availing myself of the usual trade winds, proceeded with the San Bernard in company to Sisal, off which place I arrived on the 31st July, and, on making signal for a boat, wearing American colors, was boarded by an officer, and learned that the Zavala had passed six days before; he informed me that an order had been received that day from Merida (the Capitol,) by the captain of the Port, who had sent him out, that, if any Texian vessel appeared off the port, to offer her every facility,—upon which I hoisted our proper colors. . . . as soon as he left, filled away for Campeachy, where I was informed Gen. Anaya was. Arrived off Campeachy on the 2d August, and, while standing in under our own colors, we were met about eight miles from

belonged to the Texas navy in 1840. Thrall, 306, note, says that the *Dolphin* (Wharton) sailed. There is, however, abundant evidence to the contrary.

<sup>1</sup>Moore to Cooke, *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 232-237. Moore's orders dated June 20, 1840, were sealed, and were to be opened at sea. On or about this date, the schooners *San Jacinto*, *San Antonio*, and *San Bernard*, sailed "for the west." The *Zavala* and the *Austin* were to have gone to sea on the 23d, but were detained by unfavorable weather. They sailed on June 27, 1840. See *Telegraph and Texas Register*, July 1, 1840.

<sup>2</sup>Arcas.

<sup>3</sup>Anaya and Canales were both leaders of the Mexican Federalists.

<sup>4</sup>Pakenham assisted Treat in presenting his proposition, and acted as mediator.—Bancroft, *History of Texas*, II, 340.

<sup>5</sup>This goes to show that president Lamar was correct in his statement of the object of the expedition.

the land by a schooner of war, having on board Gen. Anaya and suite, who came on board.

On being informed by the General that he had not received the letter sent by the Zavala, and being no longer in doubt as to the disposition of the authorities, from their trusting a vessel of war, mounting *five* guns, along-side of this vessel and the San Bernard, and, knowing that the letter was of importance, as it had been written by Gen. Canales, after frequent interviews with his Excellency the President, I sent the San Bernard back to Sisal, with Gen. Anaya's secretary on board for it, and anchored. Gen. Anaya remained on board until after dark, and showed me letters from Galveston written sixteen or eighteen days before I left there . . . the next day . . . I had an interview with the Governor elect, Don Santiago Mendez. . . . He was anxious that the most friendly relations should be established at an early period, and assured me that the ports of the State of Yucatan were open to any Texian vessel. . . .

I left orders for the San Bernard to remain at Campeachy on her return from Sisal, until the 13th inst. . . .

On the 6th instant I received a letter from Gen. Anaya, . . . and the next day sailed for Point Mariandrea. On arriving off the Arcos<sup>1</sup> Islands on the 10th, I found the Zavala,

I . . . the next day . . . sailed for Campeachy . . . where I arrived and anchored on the 13th inst., . . .

The naval force of the State of Yucatan consists of *one* small brig and *two* schooners. . . .

On the 14th the San Bernard arrived from Sisal, and the next morning we got under way; and the following morning, by 7 o'clock, were off the Arcos Islands; sent the San Barnard in to put Lieut. A. J. Lewis on board the Zavala, he having broken his leg some days previous by falling from the trunk of the schooner while giving an order and looking aloft, . . . and pushed on to meet the San Jacinto.

Arrived off point Mariandrea on the 18th; on the 19th, fell in with the San Bernard, and on the 20th, with the San Jacinto, when I was informed by Lieut. Postell that he had arrived off the point on the 1st inst. . . . I have since met with . . . Her Britannic Majesty's brig Penguin, on her way from Vera Cruz to Tampico, and I was informed by her that it had been reported at Vera Cruz that there was a pirate off that part of the coast, and the brig was looking out for her. The officer appeared much pleased with the bold manner in which Lieut. Postell stood down for him, and I take this occasion to state to the Department that

<sup>1</sup>Arcas.

he is *much* the most efficient officer I have under my command.

On the 23d, not having fallen in with either the San Antonio or brig Wharton<sup>1</sup> which vessels I had ordered to meet me off Point Mariandrea, . . . I determined to stand down off Vera Cruz, under American colors, and board the first vessel that came out, in hopes of hearing whether Mr. Treat had left Mexico or not, and at the same time have a look at their shipping. That afternoon I was within three miles of the castle of Juan de Ulloa; stood off all night, and the next day, in the afternoon, an English brig came out; the wind being light, did not get near her until the next morning, when she sent her boat alongside with a letter from Mr. Treat, enclosing *one* to his Excellency the President, and *two* to the Hon. A. S. Lipscomb, Secretary of State.

The brig was Her Majesty's brig Penguin, and I learned from the officer who came on board from her, that the Centralists had no vessel of war at Vera Cruz; that the sloop-of-war *Iguala* was expected soon from France, that they were about purchasing a French ship there, lying in the harbor, and that the steamer Agyle was in the employment of the Mexican Government. . . .

. . . I thought it best to leave the San Bernard . . . under the orders of which the enclosed is a copy; and in order that the letters which I had in my possession from the City of Mexico might reach their destination as early as possible, I made sail immediately, the San Jacinto in Company, for Galveston; and by the time we get in the latitude of the Brazos de Santiago, I will have finished my letters, when I will send the schooner on with them, and proceed myself to the Brazos, off which place I will not remain more than four days, (unless I meet additional orders from the Department,) when I will return with all dispatch off Point Mariandrea.

My not having fallen in with the San Antonio or brig Wharton has placed me in a disagreeable situation, as, from the force of circumstances, I can only appear off the Brazos with this vessel, when I am required by my orders, to appear off that place with the whole squadron; besides I am behind the time named, in consequence of waiting off Point Mariandrea, in the hope of meeting the San Antonio, at all events, as there was a probability of the Wharton not getting to sea.

. . . C. S. Nash, ordinary seaman, died on board this vessel on the 4th inst, while at Campeachy; his disease was dropsy, and

<sup>1</sup>The *Wharton*, by order of the secretary of the navy, was partly dismantled and placed in ordinary. This is the reason she did not at this time reach the squadron. See Secretary of the Navy, Report of November 4, 1840, in *House Journal*, 5th Tex. Cong., Appendix, 185-196.

he was transferred from the San Bernard on the 28th June, in order that he might be more comfortable. The San Jacinto also lost one man, who had been sick some time and was very old.

The Zavala has fully realized my expectations as a sea steamer. She left New-Orleans not quite *two-thirds* filled with coal, having about 1700 barrels on board; and she can carry 2700 barrels. The coal was of the most inferior kind, the blacksmith on board this vessel not being able to get a *welding heat on iron* with some of it we got from here. Filled with good Pittsburgh coal, a good head of steam can be kept up on her for thirty-five days; and, in the event of active operations on this coast, it will be necessary for her to have two thousand barrels of good Pittsburgh coal as soon as it can reach here, say about the 25th Sept., or 1st Oct., at which time she may be found at the Arcos Islands, the latitude of which is 20° 12' N., and the latitude<sup>1</sup> 91° 57' W. She adds greatly to the efficiency of our force, particularly on the coast of Mexico, where there is for so great a portion of the time very little wind, unless it is blowing a gale, which seldom lasts long.

I am, very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

[Signed]

E. W. MOORE,

*Captain Commanding.*

To the Hon. Louis P. Cooke,

*Secretary of the Navy, Austin, Texas.*

The following excerpts are taken from the diary of one of the midshipmen, and tell many events not mentioned by Commodore Moore in his despatch.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of September Commodore Moore was at the mouth of the Rio del Norte.

September 19, 1840: . . . stood in chase of strange ship who hoisted Spanish colors, bearing two points on our lee bow. At 5:30 strange ship tacked and stood for us. Beat to quarters and spoke her. She proved the Spanish corvette *Gueriro*,<sup>3</sup> mounting 22 guns.

October 4, 1840: From 4 to 6, gales with passing clouds. At 5 made a vessel with a signal of distress, lying on the reef at the north end of the island (Labos<sup>4</sup>). Sent life boat on shore to inquire if any of the inhabitants could pilot a boat out to her. At 6 the boat returned, unable to obtain any information or assistance.

<sup>1</sup>Longitude.

<sup>2</sup>Diary of midshipman James L. Mabry, in *Galveston News*, January 16 and 23, and February 13, 1893.

<sup>3</sup>Guerrero.

<sup>4</sup>Lobos.

. . . Sent life boat on shore to build a fire as a beacon to the vessel in distress. At 9, manned, provisioned and sent life boat and second cutter to the relief of the distressed vessel lying on the Banquilla reef. The second cutter returned, not being able to proceed against a heavy head sea. . . .

October, 6 1840: . . . at 3.30 the life-boat and second cutter returned, bringing the remainder of the crew, passengers and baggage.<sup>1</sup> . . .

October 17, 1840: At 1.50 standing in for Tampico bar. . . .

October 18, 1840: . . . at 3.30 a sail hove in sight, standing for anchorage. At 4 she came to anchor a short distance ahead of us. She proved [to be] the English brig of war Racer. . . .

October 21, 1840: At 2 the second cutter was fired at 3 times from the shore and very narrowly escaped destruction, the balls striking very close to her. We directed a gun at the fort and fired it, but the distance was so great that it did not carry. . . .

October 23, 1840: At 2.30, Jas. Garrett, second gunner, died of the scurvy. . . .

October 21,<sup>2</sup> 1840: . . . S. O. Sawyer fell from the fore top gallant yard overboard and was lost. . . .

November 4, 1840: At 1 sent first cutter with 228 gallons of water, 1 bag of coffee, two bags of flour and ten boxes of vermicelli to the schooner San Jacinto, and the launch with two anchors and chain. The schooner was ashore, where she had been driven in a norther, having parted one of her anchors. At 6, sent the launch with the men to the San Jacinto. At 7, sent the first cutter to the San Jacinto with 217 gallons of water. The captain left the ship. At 7.30 the captain returned.<sup>3</sup> At 10, the first cutter returned. . . .

November 21. 1840: . . . at 3 the city of Tabasco hove in sight. at 3.30 came to with larboard anchor. . . .

November 23, 1840: . . . at 11.30 General Anaya visited the ship. . . .

December 6 1840: The federal brig-of-war fired a salute of twenty-one guns. At 9.40 she . . . hoisted the Texian ensign at the fore and fired a salute of seventeen guns. At 10 we answered it.

December 11, 1840: . . . At 10 the Zavala came alongside of us and made fast to us.

December 13, 1840: At 6 called all hands to up anchor. Got under way and backed down the river with the Zavala. . . .

<sup>1</sup>The wrecked vessel was the Mexican brig, *Segunda Fauna*.

<sup>2</sup>Either this entry is out of place in the original diary, or it was meant for October 24.

<sup>3</sup>See p. 33, below.

December 15, 1840: At 11,30 boarded and took in tow the Mexican schooner *Florentine*. . . . At 2,30 boarded the Mexican schooner *Elizabeth* and brought her to under our stern.

December 16, 1840: At 8.30 got under way and cast off the two schooners, giving them permission to proceed up the river. At 5.30 came to anchor off the town of *Frenterrea*.<sup>1</sup>

December 17, 1840: During the night, James Duffries, ordinary seaman, died of fever. . . .

December 22, 1840: at 3 p. m. Samuel Edgerton, commodore's steward, died of yellow fever. . . .

December 25, 1840: Sent for Dr. Clarke of the *San Bernard* to visit the sick.

In copying the log of the *Austin*, Midshipman Mabry had no occasion to describe the terrible experience of the *Zavala* in the storm of September 23. The following, from the *Tennison Papers*,<sup>2</sup> in brief language gives a vivid idea of the perils of the sailor:

23d September, . . . we went to Arcos where we expected to meet the Commodo[re] and obtain a supply of provisions from him—but unfortunately he was not there, and after waiting a week on half allowance we went to Laguna de Terminas to obtain provision. We got enough provisions there by giving draft on the Consul in New Orleans (fund being all gone) and we came here to get fuel enough to carry us to Galveston. We arrived off the bar of this river too late on the night of the 3d October to come in, and towards Morning we had a sever gale, and sea from North east, a little the worst many of us had even seen—how the old *Zavala* stood it bravely, and after losing our rudder, best anchor and cable, the main mast throwing the guns and about 400 eighteen pound shot, and all our grape and cannister overboard, cutting the salloon, ward room, steerage and berth deck for fuel, we came in here all well and hearty on the 7th October. The Hull of the Vessel and engines being not at all hurt.

The last notice of the *San Antonio* that has been found, respecting this cruise, is a line in the *Tennison Papers*: “The *San Antonio* arrived in port<sup>3</sup> Dec. 9, 1840, with the rems<sup>4</sup> of Mr. Treat, agent from Texas to Mexico.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Frontera.

<sup>2</sup>*Tennison's Journals*, folio 350, p. 1. For a more detailed description of the *Zavala* in the storm, see *THE QUARTERLY*, VI, 123.

<sup>3</sup>Galveston.

<sup>4</sup>Remains.

<sup>5</sup>*Tennison's Journal*, folio 352, p. 3.

Relative to the doings of the fleet for the next few months the information is very meager, but a contemporary newspaper gives the following items:<sup>1</sup>

*Last from the Fleet.*

By the *San Bernard*, T. A. Taylor commanding, which came into Galveston a few days since, we are in possession of the last intelligence from the fleet. A private letter has been shown us, dated on board the *Zavala*, San Juan Baptista River, Tobasco, Dec. 23d, from which we learn that this steam ship is in complete repair, and ready for service; that the whole fleet will not probably come in before March or April. Commodore Moore, on board the flag ship *Austin*, was in the harbor at Tobasco with the *Zavala*, but, in a few days, would proceed to sea, on another cruise.

The schooner *San Jacinto* went ashore in a heavy gale, a short time before the sailing of the *San Bernard*. At the time, she was anchored off the Arcas Islands, but having imprudently ventured to sea with but one anchor, she was driven by the gale high upon land, a perfect wreck. No lives were lost, and we believe her guns were saved.

It is rumored (on what authority we have not learned,) that the Federal authorities<sup>2</sup> in consideration of the services rendered by Com. Moore in reducing a small town on the coast, contributed \$25,000 towards the expenses of the navy during the expedition.

Gen. Anaya is in command at Tobasco, and his forces are constantly augmented by the voluntary enlistment of the citizens. The most amicable relations exist between them and our naval forces.

Tennison states that, at the time of the departure of the *San Barnard* from Tobasco, it was the intention of the *Zavala*, with the *Austin* in tow, to proceed to Laguna for a sufficient supply of fuel, and thence to Galveston. The *Austin*, leaving the *Zavala* after crossing the bar, was to proceed to the Arcos Islands, and thence to Galveston. Under date of February 10, 1841, Tennison further states that the *Austin*, on the cruise referred to above, boarded a small schooner, bound for Vera Cruz, having on board the Federal General Lemus, prisoner of the Centralists. By orders of Commodore Moore he was released, and was landed at Campeachy. Soon afterwards he was placed in a responsible posi-

<sup>1</sup>*Telegraph and Texas Register*, January 13, 1841.

<sup>2</sup>That is, the Mexican Federal authorities.

tion by the new government of Yucatán. On March 18, according to Tennison, the *San Bernard* returned to Galveston. She had touched at Vera Cruz, where her appearance was by no means welcome to the natives. Eight boats, with about seventy men each, had prepared to attack this single schooner manned by a crew of only twenty. The timely interference, however, of the British sloop *Comus* prevented trouble. On this trip the *San Bernard* had lost her foremast, and was forced to stop at the Arcos Islands for repairs. The *Zavala* was at Laguna on March 1, since her supplies of fuel and provisions had not arrived from New Orleans.<sup>1</sup> The following extract gives a glimpse of her at some later time:<sup>2</sup>

The steamship *Zavala* arrived yesterday in five days from Yucatan. She had on board \$8460 in specie, having received ten thousand dollars in payment of services rendered by our Navy in the taking of Tobasco, the balance being expended in the payment of debts contracted there.

At Yucatan everything was quiet. No standing army to make subordinate the civil authorities to the military, as in many parts of Mexico. All kinds of religious worship was tolerated there.

Arista has joined Canales; but had no designs against Texas. He seems determined to overthrow the existing government.

We are assured by a passenger on board the *Zavala* that the Navy could, if permitted to make captures, not only defray its own expenses, but support the government.<sup>3</sup>

Under date of July 3, 1841, Tennison states that on that day the *San Bernard* arrived, presumably at Galveston, with Judge Webb on board. He says that Mexico had refused to treat with or to receive Webb as an agent to procure the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Tennison's Journal, folio 354, p. 1; folio 372, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>*Austin City Gazette*, April 21, 1841, quoting from the *Galveston Morning Herald*. No copy of the latter paper is known to the writer, and no mention of it is made in bibliographies of Texas or Louisiana newspapers.

<sup>3</sup>The reader will recall Lamar's statement that the officers of the Texas navy were not expected to make captures while the Texas agent was in Mexico negotiating for the recognition of Texan independence, because Lamar considered that such a policy would be dishonorable. Mexico, in this instance, seems to have outwitted Texas in diplomacy. She kept the Texas agents in Mexico in suspense as to her final decision until her vessels arrived from abroad, no doubt having been informed by the Texas agents, that, as a means of getting their proposals considered, Texas war vessels were under instructions not to molest Mexican commerce until their agency terminated.

<sup>4</sup>Tennison's Journal, folio 372, p. 3.



Of the Tabasco affair, Commodore Moore has the following to say:<sup>1</sup>

. . . went up the river Tabasco, captured that place . . . levied a contribution of \$25,000 with which supplies were obtained from New Orleans to enable the squadron to keep at sea upwards of ten months . . . and there by kept the Mexican Navy from appearing off the coast of Texas to enforce the blockade. . . .

We remained in quiet possession of the town of Tobasco for twenty-one days and had no shot fired at us as we were leaving. During this cruise one Mexican schooner was captured within five miles of Vera Cruz, sent to Galveston, condemned and sold for seven thousand dollars.

An item of interest in connection with the capture of Tabasco is given by Midshipman C. C. Cox in his reminiscences:<sup>2</sup>

But we had no fight. The enemy evacuated the town before we reached it—and after one night's stay we again dropped down the River—but a good many bags of silver were taken on Board our vessel at Tobasco and a portion at least of the same was distributed among the officers and men of the fleet as prize money. I think eight dollars was the share I got.

April, 1841, saw the return of the Texan vessels to Galveston, and the Yucatán expedition of 1840-1841 was closed. This expedition is in history frequently confounded with later expeditions to Yucatán.<sup>3</sup> Historians also allude to an alliance between Yucatán and Texas in 1840, but this alliance was not consummated in fact until 1841. The taking of Tabasco was the result of an impromptu arrangement between Moore and the officials of Yucatán; the official alliance between Yucatán and Texas, concluded in 1841, was one entered into by the civil authorities of both countries, the conditions of which were specified in a document entrusted to commissioners. In this respect it differed from the arrangements of 1840, which were made verbal and consequently could be easily broken at the caprice of either party, or upon

<sup>1</sup>Moore, *Reply to the Pamphlet by Commodores Buchanan, Dupont, and Magruder*, etc., 19.

<sup>2</sup>THE QUARTERLY, VI, 124. He is in error as regards "one night's stay." His illness at the time explains the error.

<sup>3</sup>Brown, II, 198; Thrall, *A Pictorial History of Texas*, 306. Thrall states, "They were placed in the service of the revolutionary government of Yucatán," and "sailed 24th of June, 1840." See also *University of Texas Record*, V, 155, and Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 36.

explicit directions to the commodore commanding the Texas fleet disapproving of his actions.

Soon after Commodore Moore's return to Texas he was again sent to sea for the purpose of surveying the coast of Texas. Increasing maritime interests rendered this survey very necessary. He briefly describes this labor in a publication directed to the United States naval officials:<sup>1</sup>

From May to November, 1841, the vessels were overhauled and the coast of Texas surveyed by Captain Moore, with the aid of schooners of the Texas Navy; a chart for the entire coast was made by him and published in New York by E. and G. W. Blunt, and in England by the admiralty. It is the only correct chart now in use by navigators . . . one of the officers whose name is attached to the published remonstrance to the honorable house of representatives has been in service on the gulf since it was published in 1842; he has doubtless had occasion to use it, and I can with confidence call on him to attest its accuracy.

The following item concerning the survey is from the *Telegraph and Texas Register*:<sup>2</sup>

The schooner of War, San Antonio, left Galveston on the 4th inst. for the Sabine Pass, having Com. E. W. Moore and several officers on board, for the purpose of commencing the survey of the coast. Col. G. W. Hockley, was a passenger on board. We are glad to find this important work commenced. The officers of our Navy can not at this season be employed to better advantage than in this survey.

They were actively engaged in the discharge of these labors until their recall in October by President Lamar on account of the alliance entered into between Yucatán and Texas, which we shall consider in the next chapter.

## XII. ALLIANCE BETWEEN TEXAS AND YUCATAN.

The idea of forming an offensive and defensive alliance on the part of Texas and Yucatán against Mexico, was, no doubt, discussed between the Texas commanders and Yucatán officials, while the Texas navy was in Yucatán; and doubt-

<sup>1</sup>Moore, *Reply to the Pamphlet by Commodores Buchanan, Dupont, and Magruder*, etc., 19.

<sup>2</sup>July 14, 1841.

less, on the return of the officers from their cruise, the sentiments expressed by these officials, were imparted to President Lamar. According to Senator Sam Houston,<sup>1</sup> the first overtures looking to an alliance were made by President Lamar. Houston says:

It was in the month of July of that year<sup>2</sup> that the Texas navy was subsidized to Yucatan, an integral part of the Republic of Mexico. The then President of Texas, Mr. Lamar, made a communication to the Governor of Yucatan, proposing to confederate with him to render aid, and to receive reciprocal aid from him. In conformity to the invitation originating with the President of Texas, a Minister arrived from the Government of Yucatan, then in a revolutionary state against Mexico, with proposals to obtain the navy of Texas, for the purpose of conducting a war against the central Government of Mexico. On the 17th of September, I think, the proposition was submitted by Mr. Badraza,<sup>3</sup> and accepted through the Secretary of State by the President of Texas. By the 18th the matter was consummated, and directions given to the navy of Texas immediately to sail, and co-operate in the defense of Yucatan against Mexico; or, in other words to aid and assist in the rebellion. This was done without any authority or sanction of the Congress or Senate of the Republic of Texas. It was a mere act of grace or will on the part of the President.

Col. Peraza arrived at Austin on September 11. On the 16th he addressed to Samuel A. Roberts, Secretary of State, a lengthy communication,<sup>4</sup> the main points of which were that Lamar had written the government of Yucatán that he was willing to co-operate against the common enemy; that Yucatán was threatened by an invasion from Mexico which its navy was not strong enough to resist; that the case was too urgent for Yucatán to wait for the assembling of its congress. Peraza then proceeds, "I will therefore merely say to the Honorable Secretary of State that I am fully authorized by my Government to contribute to the removal of any pecuniary obstacles which might perhaps for the moment embarrass that of Texas in putting her vessels in action"; and he

<sup>1</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 33d Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 1081; Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 27-29; Rejón, secretary of state of Yucatán, states that Lamar did make overtures July 20, 1841.

<sup>2</sup>1841.

<sup>3</sup>Col. Martin F. Peraza.

<sup>4</sup>Anonymous translation in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 15-17.

goes on to say that Yucatán would pay for the purpose of getting the squadron of three war vessels to sea eight thousand dollars in advance and eight thousand dollars per month, so long as the government should deem it necessary for the squadron to remain in active service. Any prize made and any revenue of the Mexican government confiscated by Yucatán and Texas was to be divided equally between them after first paying the costs of the enterprise. On the next day Col. Peraza received a communication<sup>1</sup> from the Secretary of State of Texas, in which he says:

When therefore you tell us that you have reason to apprehend that the same despotism which for a time waged so savage and relentless a war against us, is preparing to attack the newly established liberties of your country, we can not hesitate to co-operate with you in preparing to repel the premeditated attack by sending such a portion of our Naval force to sea as may be deemed adequate to the service required of it.

That this Government may derive incidental advantages from sending its Navy to sea, . . . is not denied; but that these advantages will afford a just equivalent for the heavy expenses of keeping our Navy at sea, and for the shock such a ste<sup>2</sup> may give to our nation's credit abroad; and the loss we may thereby suffer; the undersigned apprehends, it is equally unnecessary for him to deny. The President therefore in accepting the pecuniary aid offered by Yucatan, on the terms proposed in your communication, towards the support of the Navy so long as it continues to co-operate with that of Yucatan, only discharges a duty towards this Government which a rigid and economical expenditure of the public money demands. . . . The undersigned has been instructed, taking your propositions as a basis, to state specifically the terms upon which the President will feel authorized to afford the Government of Yucatan the aid which she demands.

The stipulations following are four in number, and the same as given in Peraza's letter except the second, which reads: "All captures made by Texan vessels shall be taken into Texas ports for adjudication, and all captures taken by Yucatan vessels shall be taken into Yucatan ports for the like purpose." On the same day, September 17, 1841, Col. Peraza accepted the Texas propositions. In a letter to the secretary of state he says,<sup>3</sup> being

<sup>1</sup>Roberts to Peraza, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 17-19.

<sup>2</sup>Step.

<sup>3</sup>Peraza to Roberts, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 19-20.

conformable to the spirit of my instructions, they are sanctioned on my part in the name of my government, which is pledged to their most punctual and religious observance." In reply to this acceptance by Yucatán, the Secretary of State addressed a letter to Col. Peraza<sup>1</sup> in which he says in part:

the President has this day given orders, in conformity with the stipulations and agreements which have been mutually made between the two governments, for three or more vessels to proceed with as little delay as possible to the port of Sisal, when it is expected the Government of Yucatan will furnish the Commander of the Squadron with such information as will enable him to operate to the advantage of Yucatan. . . . It is hoped the action of Commodore Moore, who will personally command the squadron, will be such as to give entire satisfaction to the government of Yucatan. His orders have been made in strict conformity with the agreement which has been entered into between the two governments.<sup>2</sup>

On the same day, September 18, 1841, Commodore Moore received orders from the department of war and marine in conformity with the treaty entered into by Texas and Yucatán; and he was informed that the eight thousand dollars he would receive at New Orleans was all that he would be advanced for the provisioning of the vessels and recruiting of the men for the service. Another clause in the letter is here given in full, as Commodore Moore claimed that at a later time in his service to Texas he complied with the order it contained, and was for so doing outlawed, declared a pirate, and dishonored by the Texan executive, Sam Houston:

The Department can not conclude these orders, without reiterating that the eight thousand dollars placed in the hands of yourself, and such other advances as Col. Peraza, in behalf of the Government of Yucatan, may think proper to make you upon the contract existing between his and this government, are the only funds you can rely upon for fitting out and supporting the squadron under your command: and if these are insufficient to enable

<sup>1</sup>Roberts to Peraza, September 18, 1841, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 20-21.

<sup>2</sup>Those desiring to go more fully into a study of the alliance may consult Rivera, *Historia de Jalapa*, III, 400-401, 514-515; Banqueiro, *Ensayo de Yucatán*, 42-45; *Niles' Register*, LXI, 66, 131, 196.

you to go to sea under these orders, you will not attempt it, but remain in port, without accepting or using any portion of the pecuniary contribution which the government of Yucatan has agreed to advance.<sup>1</sup>

On Friday, October 8, 1841, Lieutenant Lewis left Galveston<sup>2</sup> with the above dispatches and secret orders for Commodore Moore, to be opened after the completion of the provisioning. Commodore Moore was still surveying the coast, being on board the *San Antonio*, and accompanied by the *San Bernard*, commanded by Lieutenant Crisp. Lieutenant Lewis reached Moore on the 13th, and on receipt of the documents Moore sailed at once for Galveston. The money for the cruise and outfitting was deposited by the commissioner in the custom-house in Galveston. Within two months all preparations had been made; and, on December 13, 1841, the vessels under Commodore Moore sailed for Yucatán. Outside of Galveston Bar Commodore Moore opened his secret orders, and found that he was instructed to sail direct for Sisal, in the State of Yucatán,<sup>3</sup> and to co-operate with the sea and land forces of Yucatán in checking any hostile act of Mexico. He was also instructed to capture Mexican towns, and to levy contributions; and, for the purpose of compelling payment, he was authorized to destroy public works and edifices, and to seize public property, "taking care, however, to adhere to the principle that private property is always to be respected, and never to be violated except when unavoidable in the execution of duty." These acts it was hoped, would cause the central government no little annoyance, and would "strike a terror among the inhabitants, which may be very useful to us should it again be thought advisable to enter into negotiations for peace." For carrying out these instructions of the secretary of the navy, the Texas navy has been criticised by historians. Yet the same methods were used in the Civil War twenty years later by both North and South.

The first official communication received from Commodore Moore was dated January 31, 1842, from the Texas sloop-of-war

<sup>1</sup>Archer to Moore September 18, 1841, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 12-13. Endorsed by Moore as having been received October 13, 1841.

<sup>2</sup>Tennison's Journal, folio 372, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 13-15.

*Austin* at anchor off Sisal.<sup>1</sup> Accompanying his own letter are copies of letters exchanged between him and the officials of Yucatán, which illustrate the embarrassing situation in which he was placed on his arrival. They also show the estimation in which the Texas navy was held by the government of Yucatán, which was on the point of reuniting with Mexico, and was negotiating the terms with the commissioner, Quintana Roo, under the impression that Texas would not be able to comply with her engagements. But, encouraged by the arrival of the Texan fleet, it insisted on justice from Mexico; and the refusal led to a war, which for the time diverted the energies of Mexico from Texas to Yucatán.<sup>2</sup> Among other things the letter says:

Dec. 13, . . . I opened the "Secret Orders" received 1st October, in the presence of Lt. A. G. Gray, Purser N. Hurd, and Doct. Wm. Richardson. . . . I arrived and anchored off Sisal on the 6th inst,<sup>3</sup> the schooners San Antonio and San Bernard in company, having met the former on the 4th, and the latter on the 5th, . . . exchanged salutes with the Castle, and on the next day proceeded to the city of Merida, Lt. Com'g. Seeger in company with me.

The Yucatán political situation is next portrayed, and Moore then says:

The San Antonio takes this letter to Galveston and proceeds immediately to New Orleans for provisions, and when she joins me I will be enabled to keep at sea until the 1st May, without calling on the government for *one* dollar. If it be the wish of His Excellency the President to coerce Mexico to acknowledge our Independence, I can at once blockade all the ports of entry, viz.: Vera Cruz, Tampico, and the Brazos de Santiago; and if I had the steamer Zavala to co-operate with the Squadron, I could levy contributions on several of their towns to a greater amount than the entire *cost* of the Navy—without the Zavala little else can be effected but to pick up any vessel that they hazard out. . . . The vessels building in New York when I left Galveston, for the Mexican Navy, I will use my utmost to intercept, and if they have contraband of War on board, I will send them to Galveston—this course being strictly in accordance with International law. . . .

<sup>1</sup>Moore to the Secretary of the Navy, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 21-36. The date of the letter as printed is 1841, which is clearly incorrect.

<sup>2</sup>Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 21.

<sup>3</sup>January, 1842.

I leave to-day for Campeche and Vera Cruz; off the latter place I will cruize some time.

Commodore Moore was also instrumental in saving the cargo of the American schooner *Sylph* of New Orleans, which had been wrecked on the Alacranes, and he rescued the crew and sent them with the cargo to New Orleans in the *San Antonio*. He makes the assertion that the *Austin* was full of rotten wood and that the agent of Texas in supervising the construction of the vessels was grossly at fault. This reference was to J. G. Tod, and seems to be the beginning of the estrangement which in later years was emphasized by President Jones's nomination of Tod to take the place of Commodore Moore, who had been deprived of his position (illegally, Moore says) as commodore, by President Houston. While Commodore Moore was detained at Mérida, uncertain of his success in negotiating with the Yucatán officials, rumors of danger threatening him reached Lieutenant Alfred Gray, commanding the ship *Austin*. As Gray could not communicate with Moore, he considered it his duty to detain as hostages, until the commodore's safe return, the commissioners from the national government of Mexico and from Yucatán, who were taken from the American barque *Louisa* on their way to Vera Cruz.<sup>1</sup> Lieutenants A. Irvine Lewis and Cummings secured the commissioners and they were held until Moore was communicated with. As soon as possible he informed Gray that he was in no danger and directed him to release them. Moore said that under similar circumstances he would have done as Gray did; but suitable expressions of regret were addressed to the commissioners. In Commodore Moore's next report to the secretary of war and the navy, he makes mention of the capture of the Mexican schooner *Progreso*. By this vessel he sent to Galveston a letter in which he says:<sup>2</sup>

I have this day taken as a prize the Mexican Schooner *Progreso*.

I was off Vera Cruz yesterday and *saw* one of the vessels built in New York for the Mexican Navy, and learn to-day that she has been in three or four days, and the other one is hourly expected.

<sup>1</sup>Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 30-33; Tennison's Journal, folio 376, p. 1. These commissioners had been appointed to consider the reunion of Yucatán to the Mexican Federation.

<sup>2</sup>Moore to the Secretary of War and Navy, February 6, 1842, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 36.



A Lieutenant of Artillery (Mexican Army) was passenger in the schooner *Progreso*. . . . I intend keeping him, as I will all other officers of the government who fall into my hands, until I can hear something definite of the Santa Fe expedition.

The following is a contemporary account of the capture of the *Progreso*.<sup>1</sup>

Feb'y 22d 1842

Lut Wm. A Tennison of our Navy arrived on Saturday in charge of the Mexican Schooner *Progreso* captured by the sloop of war *Austin* in sight of Vera Cruz . . . on the 6th. She is laden principally with Flour and Sugar. . . . When the *Progreso* left the schooner of war *San Barnard* was in chase of another Mexican vessel, which was stated to have on board a large amount of specie. . . . The *San Barnard* was to the windward of her and between her and the shore, and so certain was Com. Moore of the prize that we would not think it worth while to join in the chase. . . .

A general officer was captured on the *Progreso* when he saw the Texan flag run up he tore off his epaulettes thrust them in his pockets, but it was no use he was caught in the act. . . . Sat-Anz<sup>2</sup> has purchased an old English steam ship carrying 4 guns of an English system, and if he has any spirit—with her and the New York Brig may offer Com. Moore a fight—nothing would be more welcomb to the Tars.

On February 25, when the *Austin* was again at anchor off Sisal, Commodore Moore learned from a pilot that the Mexican ship expected from New York was lost on the Florida reef on her way out, and the other Mexican vessels would not give him battle. The schooner *San Antonio* left Sisal on February 1, for Galveston with a letter from the governor of Yucatán to the president of Texas; and she was expected by Commodore Moore to meet him at the Arcas Islands on her return about March 1, 1842. From the Arcas Islands Moore intended to go to Laguna, at which place he was to overhaul the rigging and paint the ships. On March 8, Commodore Moore writes from Campeachy:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Tennison's Journal, folio 376, pp. 2-3; copied from the *Galveston Civilian*, February 22, 1842. See also *Telegraph and Texas Register*, February 23, 1842.

<sup>2</sup>Santa Anna.

<sup>3</sup>Moore to Lemus, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 41-42.

I arrived here on the afternoon of the 6th inst., from the Arcas Islands, where I waited two days for the *San Antonio* without meeting her; on my arrival here her delay was accounted for by the sad intelligence of the mutiny on board of her at New-Orleans (to which place she went for provisions,) and of the murder of one of the most promising officers, Lieut. Fuller, whom I have ever known. I expect to meet Capt. Seeger at Laguna, for which place I leave to-night, and I will mete out to the rascals the *uttermost penallies* of the law.<sup>1</sup>

Moore sailed that night, and two days later he received the following official note,<sup>2</sup> recalling him to Texas:

DEPARTMENT OF WAR AND NAVY,  
15th December, 1841.

Commodore *E. W. Moore*,

Commanding Texas Navy.

Sir.—I am directed by His Excellency the President to order that the squadron under your command return forthwith to the port of Galveston, and there await further orders. . . .

Geo. W. Hockley.

In reference to this note Moore says:<sup>3</sup>

No. 16 . . . was received outside Laguna Bar on the 10th March, per Schooner of War *San Antonio*, and was written, as will be seen by reference to the date *two* days after the inauguration of President Houston. It was the first communication that I had received since sailing, and although a peremptory order, I was compelled to disobey it. It will be seen by the subsequent letter from the Department (20) that the course adopted by me was approved by the President.

The letter referred to by Moore as approving of his disobedience to this order reads as follows:<sup>4</sup>

DEPARTMENT OF WAR AND NAVY,  
April 14, 1842.

Com. *E. W. Moore*,

Commanding Squadron.

Sir: Your dispatches by Capt. Crisp were handed into the De-

<sup>1</sup>See also *Telegraph and Texas Register*, February 23, 1842.

<sup>2</sup>Hockley to Moore, December 15, 1841, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 43.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>Hockley to Moore, April 14, 1842, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 50-51.

partment yesterday. . . . Your proceedings personally, and of Courts Martials, specially, are approved, and the latter confirmed.

Concerning the order for the recall of the navy, Houston in his speech before the Senate of the United States, July 15, 1854, said:<sup>1</sup>

The new President<sup>2</sup> was inaugurated on the 12th of December following;<sup>3</sup> and we find by the records, that on the 15th of that month the navy was recalled forthwith, and ordered to the port of Galveston. The orders ought to have reached the navy in ten or twelve days. A pilot boat was dispatched to carry the orders to Commodore Moore, the commander; but that vessel, owing to peculiar influences at Galveston, or some other circumstances, was not permitted to reach Campeachy until the 10th of March following. On the first of May, I think it was, the fleet returned.  
. . . .

In this connection, it is necessary, in referring to Houston's order dated December 15, 1841, to correct a very gross error on the part of historians which has, so far as I am aware, never been challenged by critics. Yoakum,<sup>4</sup> in closing the chapter devoted to the year 1840, says:

The President's<sup>5</sup> health had been for some time very bad; and, getting no better, he obtained from the Congress a leave of absence, and about the middle of December retired from his official duties, leaving them to be discharged by the Vice-President.

That is all true, but in the succeeding pages Yoakum does not state plainly that Lamar afterwards resumed his duties as president, and the inference is left that his retirement was permanent, which was not the case. Thrall<sup>6</sup> makes a palpable error. He says:

The cares and responsibilities of office weighed heavily on President Lamar, and the severe strictures of political opponents affected his deeply sensitive nature, and he applied to Congress for permission to absent himself from the Republic. The request was granted, and during the last year the Government was administered by Vice-President Burnet.

<sup>1</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 33d Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix, 1081.

<sup>2</sup>Houston.

<sup>3</sup>1841.

<sup>4</sup>*A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 368.

<sup>5</sup>Lamar's.

<sup>6</sup>Thrall, *A Pictorial History of Texas*, 137.

The "last year" refers, of course, to 1841. It is, of course, too well known to require proof, that Lamar was the prime mover and cause of the Santa Fé Expedition of 1841, and that he furnished Col. McLeod with a proclamation to be given to the people of Santa Fé.<sup>1</sup> It is also well known that he was the promoter of the Yucatán alliance consummated in the months of July to September, 1841. Moore states in his pamphlet<sup>2</sup> that this alliance was originated and was carried out by Lamar in 1841. He did, on account of ill health, for a time retire from the presidential duties, but only for a time. His letter to Burnet implies also that it was only temporary; for it reads thus:<sup>3</sup> "Ill health has compelled me to ask of the Honorable Congress permission to retire from the discharge of official duty for the present." Bancroft falls into the same error; he says:<sup>4</sup> "The labors of office and the animadversions to which he was exposed, induced Lamar to apply to congress for permission to absent himself; and his request being granted, during the last year of his term, the government was administered by Vice-President Burnet"; and adds in a footnote:

From Dec. 15, 1840 to Feb. 3, 1841, the acts of congress were approved by David G. Burnet, after which date no signatures are attached to the acts passed in the copy of *The Laws of the Republic of Texas* in my possession, only the word "approved" with the date, being used.

This last statement, however, proves nothing, for in printing the laws passed during Houston's administration from 1841 to 1844 his signature never appears, though he did sign many of them. Those which he signed are, as the secretary of state explains,<sup>5</sup> simply marked "approved."

I have here devoted much space to proving that Lamar did act as president in 1841, because the historians so plainly infer that he did not, that the general reader and even the worker in Texas history

<sup>1</sup>Eugene C. Barker, in *University of Texas Record*, V, 159; Bancroft, II, 333.

<sup>2</sup>Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 29.

<sup>3</sup>Hobby, *Life and Times of David G. Burnet*, 23.

<sup>4</sup>Bancroft, II, 343.

<sup>5</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, II, 792.

is led astray. If their statements were accepted, of course Lamar had nothing to do with the Yucatán alliance of 1841; but, their statements being disproved, all doubt as to Lamar's having held the reins of government in 1841 are removed. The peaceful invasion of Texan territory by the Santa Fé expedition had its conception with Lamar, and became a calamity only because of circumstances over which he had no control. Had the mission been successful, he would have been heralded as the foremost statesman of Texas. The Yucatán alliance was timely and of great help to Texas, and has only been recorded with doubting language by historians because it was little understood by historians, and because of the bitter attacks made upon it by Houston in after years. Notwithstanding the great deference given to Houston's opinions, nearly all the historians give the Yucatán alliance and the conduct of the Texas squadron in Yucatán a left-handed compliment. Lamar never quit his station because he shrank from criticism, as historians have stated; on the contrary, in his own lifetime, an able biography of him appeared in a leading Texas publication,<sup>1</sup> and, according to it, he was willing that his reputation should stand or fall according to these two policies.

Commodore Moore remained at the port of Carmen, Laguna de Términos, from the tenth until the twenty-eighth of March, at which time, accompanied by the two schooners, *San Antonio* and *San Bernard*,<sup>2</sup> he sailed for Vera Cruz. He says:

. . . arrived off Vera Cruz on the 31st, and ran close in under the Island of Sacrificios to send in a boat to the United States Ship Warren. . . . I discovered that the Steamer under the Castle was raising steam, and the Schooner now under Mexican colors was warping alongside of her. I immediately run up the boat and began making preparations to give them a warm reception, (9 o'clock A. M.) standing out to get an offing, the wind being very light, and we being barely out of gun shot of the Castle. I remained near all day, passing once inside of one of the reefs forming the harbour, but they did not come out. The Warren sent a boat out to the ship, by the officer who came in her, I

<sup>1</sup>*Texas Almanac*, 1858, 109-114. The sketch was probably either prepared by Lamar or reviewed by him.

<sup>2</sup>Moore to Hockley, April 4, 1842, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 46-50.

learned . . . that Mr. Thomas Lubbock<sup>1</sup> who escaped from Mexico, had sailed but a few days previous . . . for Laguna to join me; that night I sent the *San Antonio* back to Laguna for Mr. Lubbock, and stood to the N. and W. in Company with the *San Bernard*; the following forenoon I captured the Mexican Schooner *Doloritas* nine days from Matamoras bound to Vera Cruz, she was very near the land when we discovered her, and the super cargo and part of the crew made their escape in the boat . . . —she parted company yesterday for Galveston, and in the afternoon I landed the Captain Mate and boy with all their private effects at Point Delgada. . . .

I herewith enclose all the quarterly returns of this Ship and the *San Bernard*, a correct chart of the sea coast of Texas, a correct chart of the bar and harbour of Pass Caballo with the Labacca and Matagorda Bays, and a plan of the proposed break-water, by which *twenty feet water* can be made at the bar at a comparatively trifling expense, and there is after getting in, one of the finest harbors in the world. . . .

On the 3rd inst., within a few miles of Tuspan, we captured the Mexican Schr. "Dos Amigos," from Matamoros, bound to Tuspan, with a cargo of salt. I will dispatch her also to Galveston to-night or tomorrow, in company with the *San Bernard*, the Comd'r. of which vessel<sup>2</sup> will take this dispatch to the Seat of Government and return to Galveston with an answer and instructions for me, by the time I arrive there. I touch at Sisal to get *ten thousand dollars* which will be due on the 8th inst., when I will sail direct for Galveston, in pursuance of your orders of the 15th Dec. . . . there is every necessity of keeping the squadron at sea, and in a fighting condition, to prevent our Ports being blockaded and all communication cut off from the United States. Without the speedy return of our Navy on this coast, the navy of Yucatan will be captured or join that of Central Mexico, through fear, if nothing else.

In a letter of the next day,<sup>3</sup> he adds:

I feel it my imperative duty to urge upon the Department the necessity of fitting out the steamer Zavala, in order that we may keep the ascendancy by sea and the communication open between Galveston and New Orleans.

<sup>1</sup>A member of the Santa Fé expedition.

<sup>2</sup>D. H. Crisp.

<sup>3</sup>Moore to Hockley, April 5, 1842, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 50.

Moore, in commenting upon his recommendation respecting the *Zavala* says:<sup>1</sup>

Nos. 18 and 19 . . . are letters from me to the Department; the latter<sup>2</sup> contains my recommendation to the government to fit out the *Zavala* which could *then* have been done at a small expense and saved from destruction, the most efficient vessel in the Navy; worth, \$100,000, which has been lost to the country by the *wise economy* of government. . . . The wreck of the *Zavala*, now lying in Galveston harbor, is a melancholy evidence, of the *sort of economy* practised by President Houston!

In these remarks Moore is undoubtedly correct; for, by an act of the congress of Texas, approved by Houston,<sup>3</sup> the president of Texas was authorized to have the *Zavala* repaired, and at a later session another act was passed, also approved by Houston,<sup>4</sup> making an appropriation of \$15,000 for the purpose. This authority Houston never used.

The following letter will explain the temporary discontinuance of the Yucatán-Texas alliance:<sup>5</sup>

His Excellency the Governor . . . has received notice that they<sup>6</sup> do not think of invading us at present, and that if they do invade at all it will not be for eight months or a year, for reason of the want of resources and the embarrassed position in which Gen. Santa Anna finds himself. The State can not continue paying all this time, eight thousand dollars monthly to the vessels under your command, as agreed with the Government of Texas, to which you are subject, and for that reason I inform you, without, however, considering the friendly relations being interrupted, which has been reciprocally preserved by both Governments; that, you can . . . retire with the squadron under your command, after the current month has expired. . . . The Governor does not doubt but that he can depend upon the assistance of Texas after the above indicated time has transpired.

Under date of April 22, 1842, Lemus adds:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Moore, *To the People of Texas*, 45-46.

<sup>2</sup>Moore to Hockley, April 5, 1842.

<sup>3</sup>Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, II, 791.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 813-814.

<sup>5</sup>Lemus to Moore, March 29, 1842, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 53-54.

<sup>6</sup>The Mexicans.

<sup>7</sup>Lemus to Moore, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 55.

The want of funds has compelled the Treasury to give a bill for \$4000 to complete the \$12,208, which will be paid in thirty days after date, consequently Mr. Seeger has only received \$8666.66 including the account of supplies, and an order for account of the Schooner San Bernard.

Commodore Moore now sailed for Galveston with the squadron; and arriving there May 1, 1842, and finding President Houston and the secretary of war and the navy, Col. Hockley, there, he personally handed the latter his final report of the cruise of the squadron, the most important parts of which are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

I parted company with the San Bernard on the morning of the 6th April, and in consequence of continued winds . . . did not arrive at Sisal until the morning of the 18th, when I met the San Antonio, she having on board Mr. Thos. Lubbock. . . . The same afternoon the brig of War Wharton arrived, and the next day I sent Lt. Comd'g. Wm. Seeger to Merida. . . . On the forenoon of the 23rd, the San Bernard arrived, when I received your communication of the 14th ult. . . . And got underway—the brig Wharton, and schrs. San Antonio and San Bernard in company: the next afternoon we all anchored off Campeache. On the 25th, the Yucatan vessels of war, two brigs and two schrs.—went to sea, and as they passed us they lowered their flags *three times* which we of course returned. In the afternoon I received on board eight thousand dollars. . . . we all got under way at 1 o'clock A. M., (26th.) In the afternoon parted company with the Wharton off the Arcas Islands and pushed on for this place, where I arrived to-day, and anchored at 4 o'clock—the San Antonio in sight astern, but the San Bernard not, she will be up tomorrow.

<sup>1</sup>Moore to Hockley, May 1, 1842, in Moore's *To the People of Texas*, 60-61.